

THE GENESIS OF THE VERB *hidpîs* "Print" AND ITS COGNATES

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The root *dps* "print" is found in Israeli Hebrew in only three conjugations: *hiphil*, *huphal*, and *niphal*, whereas in the Responsa literature of the 16th to the 19th centuries we find it also in the *qal*. In this article I examine the verb *dāpas* and its relationship to *hidpîs*.

Since printing does not predate the mid-15th century, it is clear that Hebrew verbs meaning "print" did not come into being before that date. Colophons of Hebrew incunabula show that the verbs *kātab* and *hāqaq* were first employed, while the root *dps* appeared only in the third stage: initially as *dāpas* and soon afterwards as *hidpîs*. For some decades the *niphal* (*nidpas*) exclusively served the passive (of the *qal* or of the *hiphil*), since the *huphal* apparently did not appear before the middle of the 16th century.

This order of development sheds light on the morpho-syntactic arrangement of the "print" field in medieval Hebrew.

a. *Background*

In Israeli Hebrew the verb "print" is expressed by *hidpîs*, and its passive is filled either by *hudpas* or by *nidpas*. This means that the *huphal* and the *niphal* function as doublets in expressing the passive of the active *hiphil*.¹ It seems, likewise, that synchronically *hudpas* is the main passive and *nidpas* is secondary to it. Hence, it is instructive to trace formation of the *dps* verbs to

1. At present, both the *huphal* and the *niphal* of *dps* serve as unrestricted alternatives for the past and present (participle), but for the future the *huphal* alone is common (*niphal* is rare). In other words, *yiddāpēs* "will be printed" is rarely used.

their conjugations and thereby throw light upon an aspect of 15th century Hebrew.

A diachronic examination of the *dps* conjugations enables us to follow the development of the root from its genesis to the present. The root *dps*, with the connotation relevant to our study, is contemporaneous with printing, i.e., the last decades of the 15th century, when Hebrew books were first published.² Consequently, we have to find the occurrences of the *dps* verbs during the 15th-16th centuries. The Responsa literature is pertinent for such an investigation since this represents a major source of Hebrew usage for that period. We have examined through the medium of the computer all the works which form the data-base of the Bar-Ilan University Responsa Project (hereafter: Responsa Project).³

b. *The dps Verbs in the Responsa Literature*

The immediate finding we made was that the verb *dps* is not only declined in the three conjugations (*hiphil*, *huphal*, and *niphal*), but it also occurs quite frequently in the *qal*. I have already mentioned the existence of *dps* (*qal*) in my work on the language of the Responsa (Betzer-Bistritz, 1990, pp. 60-62). Here we list all the occurrences of *dps* (*qal*) in the Responsa Project⁴ (in the order of their appearance):⁵

2. We have in mind here relief print ("book print") whose invention is credited to Gutenberg. Printing began in 1445 in Germany, from which it spread to the whole of Europe. Hebrew printing began about 1470 (Habermann, 1969, p. 76).

3. On the Responsa Project and the compositions it includes, see for example Betzer-Bistritz (1990, pp. 8, 482-484).

4. For the benefit of those who are not familiar with *dps* (*qal*), we list here all the occurrences found in the Responsa Project, including those post-dating the 15th-16th centuries.

5. Every reference has two parts. The first part contains the name of the work (without the word *Šū"t*), its part (where there are more than one), and the time when the author lived (in square brackets). The second part contains the section, the number of the paragraph in the section, and the number of the sentence in the paragraph. This system of quotation is based upon the Responsa Project and has useful advantages. The names of the works are only mentioned here, since the Responsa Project system of listing references is used here. In order to ease the acquaintance with those works, the names of the authors are listed here: *Bêt Yôsēp* - Joseph Caro; *Binyāmīn Zē'ēb* - Benjamin Ze'ev ben Mattathias; *ʿēn Yīshāq* - Isaac Elhanan Spektor; *Hākām Šēbī* - Zevi Ashkenazi; *Haradā"k* - David ben Hayyim Hakkohen; *Haram"ā* - Moses Isserles; *Hātam Sôpēr* - Moses Sofer; *Hayyim Bēyād* - Hayyim Falaji; *Hūt Hammēšullāš* - Solomon Duran, Solomon Seror, Abraham Tawa; *Mahara"m Padova* - Meir Katzenellenbogen; *Maharša"m* - Mordecai Schwadron; *Nôdā Bihūdā* - Ezekiel Landau; *Rana"h* - Elijah ben Hayyim; *Sīs ʿēlfēzer* - Eliezer Judah Waldenberg; *Tašbē"š* - Simeon ben Zemah Duran; *Tēšūbā Mē'ahābā* - Elazar Fleckeles; *Torat ʿēmet* - Aaron Sassoon.

- 1 אין לו ליענטילומר שני לדפוס זה כלל (*Haram"ā* [16], 10-9-3).
 "Another *yentilomer* is absolutely forbidden to print it."⁶
lidpōs (inf.) "to print"
- 2 גם אם יפסידו פעם אחת לא ימנעו מחמת זה מלדפוס (*id.*, 10-14-3).
 "Even if they did damage once, they shall not be prevented from printing on account of this."
- 3 הלא היא כתובה בתשובות הדפוסות (*Rana"h* [16], 84-8-1).
 "It is verily written in the printed responsa."
dēpūsōt (pt. pass. f.pl.) "printed"
- 4 והיא דפוסה כמעט כולה (*Torat ʿēmet* [16-17], 86-15-1).⁷
 "And it is almost completely printed."
dēpūsā (pt. pass. f.s.) "printed"
- 5 שכבר מברור זה בתשובתי הדפוסה (*Hākām Sēbi* [17-18], 80-2-1).
 "which is already explained in my printed responsum."
- 6 מהטעם המכר בתשובתי הדפוסה (*id.*)
 "For the reason mentioned in my printed responsum."
- 7 שיוכל לדפוס בו חתימתו (*Nōdāʾ Bihūdā-2-ʿōrah Hayyim* [18], 33-1-1).⁸
 "That he will be able to print his signature."
- 8 אשר דפסתי בקהלת קדש פראג (*Tēšūbā Mēʿahābā-1* [18-19], 1-43-1).
 "which I have printed in Jewish Community Prague."
dāpasti (pf. 1 m.s.) "I have printed"
- 9-12 דפסתי x4 (*id.*, 8-6-1; 58-4-1; 117-7-1; 174-2-1).

6. The meaning of *yentilomer* is provided by *Haram"ā* in that section: **והשתתף עם אחד מאנשי ארצו ומגדוליה והיינו יענטילומר** (*Haram"ā*, 10-8-5). "And he participated with one of his prominent countrymen, i.e., *yentilomer*." *Yentilomer* is apparently a prominent, noteworthy person. On the etymology of this Yiddish noun and its relationship to "gentleman" on the one hand and to *yente* on the other, Prof. J. Bar-El kindly pointed out to me his work (Bar-El, pp. 39-42).

7. In the Responsa *Torat ʿēmet* there are four more instances of *dps* (pass. pt.) as follows: *dēpūsā* (64-5-1; 68-3-2; 125-3-3), *dēpūsōt* (74-11-1).

8. At the end of the Responsa *Nōdāʾ Bihūdā*, there are three further instances of *lidpōs* "to print"; however, they are not from the pen of the author (R. Ezekiel Landau) but are the annotations of R. Baruk Frenkel. They are found in part two of his annotations to *Hōšen Mišpāt*, section 24.

13-17 לרפוס x5 (*Hātam Sōpēr-5-Hōšen Mišpāt* [18-19], 79-28-1; id.-6-*Liqqūtīm* x2;⁹ *Hayyim Bēyād* [19], 106-2-2; *ēn Yishāq-1-ōrah Hayyim* [19], 5-37-2).

18 זה הקונטרס כתבתי מקודם שדפסתי בעז"ה ספרי נהל יצחק (*ēn Yishāq-ēben Hā'ēzer*, 20-3-23).

"This treatise I wrote before I printed my book *Nahal Yishāq*."

19 שידפסו בשבת (*Maharša*"m-2 [19-20], 93-5-2).¹⁰

"which they will print on Shabbat."

yidpēsū (impf. 3 m.pl.) "they will print"

20 כמ"ש בתשרי שידפוס¹¹ אי"ה כעת בחלק ב' (id.-5, 84-3-1).

"As I have written in a responsum which will be printed presently in part two."

yidpōs (impf. 3 m.s.) "he will print"

21 לרפוס לפרסם ברביח¹² לנצח (*Šis 'ēli'ēzer-9*[20], 15-38-2).

"To print in order to publicize this for ever."

In addition to the instances of the *qal* cited from the Responsa literature, there should be added *yidpēsū* "will print," found in the approbation of R. Yishāq Shmelqes to the responsa of Bēsal'ēl Ashkenazi (16th century):

22 ולא ידפסו כמשפטו עד כלות עשר שנים מיום דלמטה¹³ (id.).

"And they are forbidden to print the like of it until the completion of ten years from the undermentioned date."

9. In addition to the three occurrences of *lidpōs* "to print" which we quoted from the *Hātam Sōpēr*, the work also has *ידפסו* and *ידפס*. Since there is doubt whether they are *qal* or *hiphil* (*yidpōs* or *yadpīs*; *yidpēsennū* or *yadpīsennū*), we have not included them here. Other cases about which there is similar doubt (*ידפס* and *אדפס*) have been encountered in *Hā'elep Lēkā Šēlōmō* and in *Sēridē 'ēš*, and we did not include them for the same reason.

10. Apparently there is doubt here as to whether it is *qal* or *hiphil* as above, but the neighboring *šeyyidpōs* suggests that we have the *qal* conjugation, i.e., *šeyyidpēsū*.

11. This *qal* has the connotation of the *niphal* "will be printed." In late Rabbinical Hebrew, one finds now and then the *qal* used with the connotation of the *niphal*, e.g., *yahārōg wē'al ya'ābōr* instead of *yēhārēg wē'al ya'ābōr* "One should rather be killed than transgress"; *yāšūb wēyimhōl lō* instead of *yāšūb wēyimmāhēl lō* "One shall repent and will be forgiven" (see Avineri 1945, p. 231). It is appropriate to remark here that *yāšūb wēyimhōl lō* is found already in the Babylonian Talmud (*Sukka* 53a). The passive nuance which our case carried does not, of course, have any bearing here.

12. Thus in the Responsa Project (typing error!); it should be ברבים.

13. The date at the bottom is from the 20th century (8 Šēbat 5664 = 1904).

These findings indicate that *dps* (*qal*) was also in constant use alongside the regular conjugations of *dps*. Hence, it is appropriate to speak not just of three conjugations but of four maintaining a single active - passive system. Diachronically, there are two active - passive systems: *qal* - *niphal* and *hiphil* - *huphal*.

The earliest occurrence of *dps* (*qal*) in the Project's Responsa data-base is found in *Šū"t Haram"a* (see above). The first occurrences of the other conjugations are as follows:

niphal:

1 בדפוס הראשון אשר נדפס (*Harada"k* [15-16], 24-5-1).

"In the first print which was printed."

nidpas (pf. m.s.) "it was printed"

2 ובתשובת רשב"א הנדפס בסימן תקל"ט יש תשובה מזה (*Mahara"m Padova* [16], 9-5-1).

"And in the printed *Rašb"a* responsa in no. 539 there is a responsum on this subject."

nidpāsīm (pt. m.pl.) "printed"

hiphil:

1 שהגאון מהר"ר חייא מאיר תקנו כשהדפיס הספרים (*Binyāmīn Zē'ēb* [16], 296-1-2).

"That the Gaon R. Hiyya Me'ir enacted when he printed the books."
hidpīs (pf. 3 m.s.) "he printed"

2 חזיה בדעתי לסדר להדפיסו (*Mahara"m Padova* [16], 29-2-5).

"And I intended to print it."

lēhadpīsō (inf. cstr. + sf.) "to print it"

huphal:

1 כתבני ס' תתקנ"ד כתב כן (*Tašbē"š*-4-2 [16], 20-3-1) (= *Hūt Hammēšullāš*-2 [16], 20-3-1).¹⁴

"He wrote so in his printed responsa no. 954."

mudpāsīm (pt. m.pl.) "printed"

14. This citation, as we shall see below, is taken from *Hūt Hammēšullāš* (R. Solomon Šeror). However, because the Responsa Project system was used here, it has been referenced as *Tašbē"š* (part four).

2 נכתב בספר כתביו אשר זה כמה שנים הודפסו (Bêt Yôsēp¹⁵-Gittin Vēgērūšīn [16], 13-25-1).

"It was written in his writings which were printed some years ago."
hudpēsū (pf. 3 m.pl.) "they were printed"

c. *dps* Conjugations - Order of Emergence according to the Responsa Literature

In order to determine the sequence in which the four conjugations of *dps* appeared in the Responsa literature which we examined, we must know the dates when the four relevant Responsa works were composed: Šū"t Haram"a (in which the first instance of *qal* occurs), Šū"t Harada"k (the first *niphal*), Šū"t Binyāmīn Zē'ēb (the first *hiphil*), and Hūt Hammēšullāš (the first *huphal*). Since three of the four authors were contemporaries in the first half of the 16th century, extreme caution must be exercised in determining their biography and, even more so, the sequence of their works. In the Responsa Project they are listed as follows: Hūt Hammēšullāš (as a part of *Tašbē"s*), *Harada"k*, *Binyāmīn Zē'ēb*, *Haram"a*.

1 Hūt Hammēšullāš

In modern editions, *Hūt Hammēšullāš* was bound together with the *Tašbē"s*. Since the *Tašbē"s* is divided into three parts, the Responsa Project has referred to *Hūt Hammēšullāš* as *Tašbē"s* part four. The author of the *Tašbē"s*, R. Simeon ben Zemah Duran (Rašba"s), lived in the 14th-15th centuries. *Hūt Hammēšullāš* is a responsa collection of three different authors, descendants of Rašba"s: Solomon Duran, Solomon Šeror, and Abraham Tawa. They each contributed an independent section. The relevant material to our investigation is contained in section two (see the reference above for *mudpāsīm*), which is the responsa of R. Solomon Šeror from the second half of the 16th century, the sixth generation after Rašba"s (Hirschberg, 1965, p. 44). The responsa of R. Solomon Šeror were only printed in 1738.

15. It must be emphasized that we refer to the responsa of R. Joseph Caro, not to his well-known commentary to the *Tūr*. The first collection of responsa, written by Joseph Caro (on "eben Hā'ēzer), was published in Salonika in 1598. This collection was called, "Responsa of R. Joseph Caro." The edition of this work, which was published in Jerusalem in 1960, was entitled, "Responsa Bêt Yôsēp." This edition was the source for the Responsa Project.

2 Šû"t *Harada*"k

The author, Rabbi David ben Ḥayyim Hakkohen, was the father-in-law of R. Binyāmīn Zē'ēb (see below). The year of *Harada*"k's birth is uncertain. Benayahu (1988, p. 7) is of the opinion that his birth predates 1465 and that he died before 1528. His Responsa were printed in 1537, about ten years after his death.

3 Šû"t *Binyāmīn Zē'ēb*

The most detailed biographical information concerning the author, R. Benjamin Ze'ev ben Mattathias of Arta, is to be found in Benayahu (1988), who holds that R. Benjamin was born *circa* 1475 and died close to the year 1545. The book was edited and prepared for printing by the author himself in 1538¹⁶ and the printing completed in 1539.

4 Šû"t *Haram*"a

The author, R. Moses Isserles, lived from 1530 to 1572 (Ziv, 1971, p. 13). His Responsa which refer to the *ʿōrah Ḥayyim* were printed in his lifetime in 1571. The responsum which is listed as number 10 in his Responsa, from which our quotation above is taken, is known as his earliest responsum, written in 1550.

From this biblio-biographical examination, and on the basis of *terminus a quo* and *ad quem* considerations linked to it, it becomes clear that the chronological order of the compositions is different from that obtaining in the Responsa Project. The sequence is as follows: *Harada*"k, *Binyāmīn Zē'ēb*, *Haram*"a, *Ḥūt Hammēšullāš*. The Responsa Project placed the *Ḥūt Hammēšullāš* (together with the *Tašbē"s*) first, basing itself on the period when the Rašba"s, the author of the *Tašbē"s*, lived, while we assign it to the time of R. Solomon Seror whose Responsa are relevant for our study. As a result of this clarification, the *huphal* of *dps* from the *Bêt Yôsēp* Responsa (see above) predates the one from the *Ḥūt Hammēšullāš*, but one cannot say this with any certainty.¹⁷

The *dps* conjugations evolved accordingly in this sequence: *niphal* (*Harada*"k), *hiphil* (*Binyāmīn Zē'ēb*), *huphal* (*Bêt Yôsēp*/*Ḥūt Hammēšullāš*), *qal* (*Haram*"a). The initial active-passive system, according to the material we have noted, was *hiphil-niphal*. Even though there exists in Hebrew a morpho-

16. Not the year 5294 (as is written on the verso of the title-leaf, printed in Venice). See Benayahu (1989, p. 159).

17. The author of the Responsa *Bêt Yôsēp*, R. Joseph Caro, lived from 1488 until 1575.

syntactic polarization between the *hiphil* and *niphal* (e.g., *hikhîd-nikhad*), it is not plausible to assume that the active-passive relationship of verbs moulded at the beginning of the 16th century (or the end of the 15th) came to expression in the irregular way (*hiphil-niphal*) and not in the regular (*qal-niphal* or *hiphil-huphal*).

d. *dps Verbs in Extra-Responsa Sources*

Ben-Yehuda (1908, vol. II, pp. 978-979) already cites examples of forms taken from the four conjugations, and some of them are even earlier than those cited above. The oldest example, antedating each one of the four conjugations, is as follows (the reference, enclosed in brackets, is reproduced as given in Ben-Yehuda's dictionary):

qal: דפס בפסרו שנת התק"י¹⁹ (מבוא אל האות' העבריות' ש' רע).

"He printed it in Pisaro in 510 [=1510]."

dāpas (pf. 3 m.s.) "he printed"

niphal: דפס על ידי צעיר המחוקקים (נביא' ראש' עם רד"ק ש' רע"ו).

"It was printed by the youngest engraver."²⁰

nidpas (pf. 3 m.s.) "it was printed"

hiphil: והנה הסכמנו להדפיס זה הספר בשני עמודים (בסוף ס' מכלול ארצה"ש לרד"ק ש' רנא)

"And we agreed to print the book in two columns."

lēhadpīs (inf.) "to print"

huphal: בספריהם המודפסים בעט ברזל ועופרת מקצרים פעמים רבות האותיות²¹ הצריכות להיות בתוכן (שלטי הגבור, לשוני העמים)

"In their books which are printed with an iron and lead pen, many times they elide letters which should really be included."

mudpāsīm (pt. m.pl.) "which are printed"

18. According to the bibliographical details noted by Steinschneider (1931, p. 579), it seems that התק"י = 1510, and the time is suitable also for Ben-Yehuda's placing it as 1510.

19. For the book *Mābō 'el Hā'ōtiyyōt Hā'ibniyyōt*, whose author is unknown, see Steinschneider (1931, p. 579).

20. Before this, Ben-Yehuda quotes the preface of 'Eliyyāhū Bāhūr to *Māsoret Hammasoret*, but it seems that he does not antedate him.

21. This is taken from the composition *Šiltē Haggibbōrīm* printed by the author, Abraham Gabison from Ša'ar 'Aryē (= Port Leone), in the year 1612.

Ben-Yehuda's witnesses for the *qal*, *niphal*, and *hiphil* predate the Responsa ones, but the *huphal* example he cites is later than those in the Responsa literature. Two salient facts emerge from Ben-Yehuda's study presented here: a) *dps* (*huphal*) is relatively late; b) *dps* (*hiphil*) is found in an incunabula of Rada"q's *ʿôsar Haššorāšim* of the year 1491.

The chronological order *niphal-hiphil-qal-huphal*, determined upon the basis of the Responsa material, does not, therefore, reflect the true development. The stages according to the sources quoted here are instead *hiphil* (1491) - *qal* (1510) - *niphal* (1516) - *huphal* (*Bêt Yôseṭp/Hût Hammēšullāš*).²²

c. *dps* Verbs in Incunabula

Since Ben-Yehuda has utilized an incunabulum, a product of the cradle-printing era, we turned to Habermann's book (1968) devoted to this subject of early printing to see whether he includes examples of incunabula containing *dps* verbs. Indeed, Habermann (1968, p. 91) states that in a colophon of a "Siddûr according to Separdi rite," printed in 1490 in Naples, the copyist has appended: גביר יהושע דפסם לבן פורת "Master Josua printed them for Ben Porat" (*dēpāsām qal* pf. 3 m.s. + sf.; "he printed them"). This occurrence of the *qal* predates by one year the *hiphil*.²³

What we had learned from Ben-Yehuda and Habermann gave us the impetus to examine colophons of Hebrew incunabula conveniently collected by Freimann (1924-1931). In this material we found two instances of *dps* verbs (and other verbs connected to printing activity, for which see further below):²⁴

כל שאר הספרים הנדפסים בענין הזה תפל מבלי מלח ומייד עדשים 1 (Josua Salomo b. Israel Natan Soncino [?]),²⁵ 1491, Fr. 159).

"All other books printed concerning this matter are flat, unsalted, and lentil broth."

22. The earliest example for the *huphal* is found in Responsa literature and predates the examples of Ben-Yehuda.

23. When dealing with the verbs for "printing" and nouns derived from them, Steinschneider and Cassel (1851, p. 23) established that the use of the *dps* verbs only began in the 16th century. However, Rosenthal (1976, p. 277) has demonstrated, using the case cited here, that the verbs were already in use in the 15th century.

24. All the references taken from Freimann cited anon will be given as they appear in his book (in Latin). In addition, the page will also be quoted (indicated by Fr. = Freimann).

25. The question mark is found in Freimann.

nidpāsīm (*niphal* pt. m.pl.) "printed"
 והנה הסכמנו להדפיס זה הספר בשני עמודים 2 (id.).

The second example cited is the very one found in Ben-Yehuda quoted before. The addition of *nidpāsīm* to the material above leads us to the following sequence for the *dps* conjugations: *qal* (1490) - *niphal* (1491) - *hiphil* (1491) - *huphal* (before 1575).

f. *Why Both dāpas and hidpīs?*²⁶

The difference of a single year between the appearance of the *qal* and the *hiphil* cannot be regarded as indisputable proof of the priority of the *qal*. It is more precise to say that the *qal* and the *hiphil* emerged simultaneously, side by side. Such an emergence as twins from birth is rare and requires an explanation. It is pertinent to point out that even if *dāpas* predates *hidpīs*, there is still need for clarification. What caused the birth of this pair?

The noun *dēpūs* "printing" is found for the first time in 1477: הצעיר מאומני הדפוס "the youngest printing craftsman" (Abraham ben Chajjim²⁷ Pisaurensis, 1477, Fr. 20). This noun had been easily absorbed since it was not a new creation, being a Mishnaic Hebrew noun whose meaning had been extended.²⁸ This was not the case with the verbal conjugations of *dps* and the action nouns derived from them. Here a new word was needed, or at least a new stem (of *dps* or a different root). The earliest printers were in the greatest need of an action noun expressing "printing," and in incunabula texts the groping for a suitable term is palpable. In 1475, when the printing of the four Turîm of Jacob ben Ašer was completed, the printer, Meschullam Cusi, wrote: ותכל מלאכת עבודת הקדש "The work of the service of the sanctuary was finished" (Fr. 12). The phrase מלאכת עבודת הקדש, and especially the noun מלאכה, serves here not only in its idiomatic meaning but also expresses the printing action which had no appropriate term. Similarly, Abraham ben Chajjim Pisaurensis in 1477 uses ותשלם כל המלאכה "And all the work was

26. See already Steinschneider and Cassel (1851, p. 23). They were correct as regards *dēpūs* but erred with regard to the *dps* verbs.

27. Freimann transcribed thus: Chajjim, Chiskijja, Mardochai, Meschullam, etc. (and see above note 24).

28. The noun *dēpūs* (with the *dalet* having *shewa*, although Jastrow in his dictionary has it with *qames*, *dāpūs*) appears already in the Mishnah (e.g., Demay 5:3) with the meaning "form and shape." It is etymologically derived from the Greek *tupos* (see e.g., Kohut in his dictionary), and cf. *tōpes* "frame."

finished" (Fr. 20). The use of **מלאכת הקדש** (with all its nuances) to express "printing" is most marked in all of the following examples:

- 1 **ותכל מלאכת עבודת הקדש השבעה ספרים הראשונים** (Salomo ben Juhuda et Obadia b. Moses, ante 1480, Fr. 39).

"And the work for the service of the sanctuary ("printing") of the first seven books was finished."

- 2 **ותשלם כל המלאכה מלאכת עבודת הקדש חומש ותרגום ופירוש רש"י בכרך אחד** (Abraham ben Chajjim Pisaurensis, 1482, Fr. 38).

"And the work for the service of the sanctuary ("printing") of Tora with Onqelos and Rashi in one volume was completed."

- 3 **ובכאן נשלמה מלאכת הקדש תפילת יחיד הנהוגה לבני עמנו** (Josua Salomo b. Israel Natan Soncino, 1486, Fr. 75).

"And with this was completed the work of the sanctuary ("printing") of the private prayer as is the custom of our people."

- 4 **ותשלם מלאכת עבודת הקדש העשרים ארבע בשלמות** (id., 1488, Fr. 98).

"The work for the service of the sanctuary ("printing") of the twenty four [books of the Bible] was completed."

Other nouns which conveyed the meaning of "printing" also serve as evidence in the search for an appropriate action noun:

- 5 **בשנת רלז נגמרה פעולתינו** (Meister Josef et Neria, Chajjim Mardochai et Chiskijja de Venturo, 1477, Fr. 32).

"In the year 237 (=1477) our work ("printing") was completed."

- 6 **ואולם היתה התחלת בנין הספר הזה על ידינו בני שונציין** (Filii Soncino, 1485-1486, Fr. 81).

"But the beginning of the building of this book was carried out by us, the sons of Soncino."

A specific term for "printing" is first found only in 1485²⁹ where it is not derived from the root *dps* but from *hqq* "engrave." The action noun is *ḥāqīqā* "engraving" and is found in the following:

29. The contemporaneous existence of the above terms with *ḥāqīqā* "engraving" should not surprise us, since this was a period when people were still searching for the proper word to designate this new technological achievement.

7 ובכאן נשלמה חקיקת המאמר הנכבד הזה (Filii Soncino, 1485, Fr. 71).

"And herewith was completed the engraving ("printing") of this important treatise."

8 והיתה השלמת חקיקתם פה שונצין (Josua Salomo b. Israel Natan Soncino, 1486, Fr. 75).

"And their engraving ("printing") was completed here in Soncino."

The action noun *hadpāsā* was apparently born many years later. The earliest occurrence of it I could find was in the Responsa of *Haram*"a: ולא ידעתי אם מה' היתה זאת או אם תקנתי הענין בשעת ההדפסה (Haram"a, 132-9-4). "And I do not know whether it was the Lord's doing or if I corrected the matter during the printing." We know that this responsum numbered 132 is the latest of his Responsa and dates from 1571 (Ziv, 1967, p. 39). Hence our earliest witness for *hadpāsā* is from 1571.

The action noun is, as is well-known, derived from the verb (Berman, 1975, p. 101), and the existence in 1486 of *hāqīqā* "printing" therefore indicates that, prior to 1486, the verb *hāqāq* with the meaning "print" existed. Did *hāqāq* indeed serve this purpose before the introduction of *dāpas/hidpis*?

We find witnesses for the use of verbs connoting "printing" from the year 1476, but *dps* does not number among the earliest ones. During the twenty years from the beginning of Hebrew printing *circa* 1470 until the first use in 1490 of verbs derived from *dps* (according to Habermann's example), the derivatives for "printing" were taken from other roots. At the outset, *kātab* was used to signify "print" as the following demonstrate:

1 לכתוב זה הספר (Abraham Conat, 1476, Fr. 18).

"to write ("print") this book."

2 לכתוב השלמת הספר (id.).

"to write ("print") the completion of the book."

3 אשר נכתב על ידי הצעיר מאומני הדפוס (Abraham b. Chajjim Pisaurensis, 1477, Fr. 20).

"which was written ("printed") by the youngest craftsman of printing."

4 ראיתי לכתוב זה הספר (Abraham Conat, 1480, Fr. 23).

"I saw it appropriate to write ("print") this book."

5 באו שערינו בתודה לה' נסי וכתבוהו בדפוס (Josua Salomo b. Israel Natan Soncino, 1484, Fr. 59).

"Enter his gates with thanksgiving to God, my banner, and write ("print") it in my press."

In the second stage, prior to 1480, the verb *hāqaq* was used³⁰ and we list a few examples:

- 1 על ידי המחוקקי (Salomo b. Jehuda et Obadia b. Moses, ante 1480, Fr. 39).
"by the engravers ("printers")."
- 2 ומי שזיכני להשלמת ספר זה יזכני ברחמי לחקוק עוד מן התלמוד מסכתות אחרות (Josua Salomo b. Israel Natan Soncino, 1483, Fr. 57).
"And may He who favoured me to complete this book favour me in His mercies to engrave ("print") other tractates of the Talmud."
- 3 חקקום על ספר עשוי בדפוס (id., 1484, Fr. 62).
"And they engraved ("printed") them in a book produced by print."
- 4 אמר המחוקק (id., 1486, Fr. 69).
"Says the engraver ("printer")."
- 5 ולזה נראה לנו לחקקם עם המפרש המופלג הזה (id.).
"And we therefore deemed it appropriate to engrave ("print") them together with this eminent commentator."
- 6 ראינו לחקק באופן שלם מוגה וטוב (Filii Soncino, 1485, Fr. 71).³²
"We deemed it appropriate to engrave ("print") it completely, revised and well done."
- 7 נחקק בסונצינו (Josua Salomo b. Israel Natan Soncino, 1488, Fr. 98).
"engraved ("printed") in Soncino."

Other instances of the use of the verb *hāqaq*³³ are found until 1494. The craftsman who is engaged in printing is identified during this period, and even a few years afterwards, by the participle, *mēhōqēq* "engraver." Thus, for example, the young printer Geršon b. Moses Soncino from time to time

30. Y. Kenaani was apparently not aware that *hāqaq* predated *dāpas/hidpīs* and therefore pronounced in his dictionary that *hāqaq* serves as "print" through borrowing. See Kenaani (1964, p. 1454).

31. I do not know why Ben-Yehuda decided that *לחקקם lēhoqēqām* "to engrave them" is a *prel* here. See Ben-Yehuda 1908, vol. III, p. 1725. It seems to me that all the relevant verb forms of *hqq*, with the exception of *mēhōqēq* (with its inflections), are from the *qal*.

32. Incidentally, here is the source of the well-known verse adopted by the Soncino family of printers: *כי מציון תצא תורה ודבר יה* "For out of Zion shall go forth the law and God's word from Soncino."

33. The printer Moše ben Šealtiel indicated in 1491 the "print" through the medium of *hāṣab* (as a substitute for *hāqaq*: *בעט ברזל ועופרת חצבתי* "They incised me with an iron and lead stylus"; Fr. 307), and cf. Job 19:23-24.

identifies himself by the pseudonym **צעיר מחוקקים** "the youngest of the engravers" (see Freimann, 1924-1931, p. 195).

The development of the "print" verbs was, therefore, in this sequence: *kātab* - *hāqaq* - *dāpas*. Accordingly, there is no room for *hidpīs*, since *dāpas* filled the need of the writers. The printers of the incunabula were, apparently, influenced from two directions when they used *dps*: on the one hand morphologically, through *kātab* and *hāqaq*, in the direction of the *qal*; on the other hand semantically, through the causal component contained in "printing," in the direction of the *hiphil*. The *qal* implies that the *dōpēs* (*qal* pt.) is the one who prints the words on the page, whereas in reality it is the machine which prints and the human is the cause of the action. The person is one who "causes to print," *madpīs* (*hiphil* pt.). It is possible to discern in the following citation the awareness of causation felt by the writers: **כי אמן כח להעשותו**³⁴ **ברפוס למען זכות בו את הרבים** (Josua Salomo b. Israel Natan, 1492, Fr. 175) "Because he made the effort for it to be printed in order to benefit the public by it." The twofold influences caused the creation of the pair, *hidpīs* alongside *dāpas*. It follows that the two passives, *niphal* and *huphal*, would result from the two active conjugations.

i. Conclusions

Based on the data we have presented, the morpho-semantic arrangement of the "print" verbs, with the action nouns derived from them, follows naturally. In the accompanying chart that illustrates this (except for the passive of *kātab* and *hāqaq*), the following symbols are used:

- > = lexical development
 - - -> = active-passive transformation
 =====> = nominalization

	since 1476	since 1480	since 1485	since 1490	since 1491	since 1550	since 1571
active	<i>kātab</i>	<i>hāqaq</i>		<i>dāpas</i>	<i>hidpīs</i>		
passive					<i>nidpas</i>	<i>hupdas</i>	
action noun			<i>hāqīqā</i>				<i>hadpāsā</i>

34. The context does not permit one to regard **להעשותו** as a *niphal* but as a *hiphil*.

The active verb initially was *kātab*, a few years later it was *hāqaq*, and then finally *dāpas*³⁵ accompanied by - perhaps shortly afterwards - *hidpīs*. The occurrences of *dps* (*qal*) found in the late Responsa compilations (until the 19th century) do not reflect a late creation but, on the contrary, constitute the original form which was prevalent among writers since its inception in 1490, even though its ascendancy waned since the *hiphil* had been well absorbed. The *niphal* served as the passive for both the *qal* and the *hiphil*, and only toward the middle of the 16th century did the *huphal* also spread to serve as the passive. The arrangement at which we have arrived is markedly different from the possibility we raised at the beginning of our study.

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35. The noun דָּפּוּס (*dēpūs*) mentioned by Berliner was misunderstood by Kutscher (1982, p. 170) as the verb *dāpōs* and therefore he incorrectly stated that *dps* (*qal*) had appeared already in 1477.

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